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This is an evaluation of the internal situation in March 1947 and directives for action in various sectors. The truthfulness and reliability of this report is absolute. Changes have only been made in the form of presentation if you compare this with instructions by Central Committee PPR and is especially reported for the lower ranks of PPR and adapted to the territory where they are binding.

1. Since the victory of the Democratic Bloc in the last election, certain problems have come to the fore and need to be discussed. These problems are the ruthless fight against reaction and so:

a. The period of the Polish National Committee of Liberation - during this period we were being fought against outside and inside of the country.

b. Creation of a Government and financial unity to function up to the time of the last elections and new parliament.

c. The present period after the election - new problems are appearing and these now should be analyzed.

(1) Voting on the small constitution during the session of the Sejm. The March constitution was one which gave the basis for a Fascist and big landowner expansion. The small constitution will allow us to rule in democratic spirit.

(2) The creation of a state council allows for control and bolsters the president's power. During the period after the first war the president was a puppet - in the present regime the president's power is different.

(3) The third important matter is the decree of amnesty, - the fight against the underground must be conducted ruthlessly and to the end. The amnesty does not mean that our democracy is weak. Through the amnesty for political prisoners we can reach these as well as

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those who are still underground. The strength of the Fascist underground will fall if the PSL (the Polish Peasant Party) is disintegrating.

The PSL was striving to eliminate the amnesty. There also existed other currents to the same end. Underground elements are starting to crumble.

Reaction has not given up the fight and will continue to hunt our more important members. Up to the elections reaction thought that factories and heavy industry would pass after these into their hand and now there may be sabotage in production resulting in non-accomplishment of the three-year plan showing up PPK as inefficient. The blowing up of the Martin furnace in the Gliwicz region is the first act of sabotage by underground men. (This really happened - source).

Because of the above you will:

1. Increase and strengthen vigilance and protection of industrial plants;
2. Begin a fight against wastefulness of human labor;
3. Learn the art of management of industry so as to be able to get rid of Fascist specialists;
4. Lift the technical level;
5. Learn efficient organization of labor.

The enemy is sly - he knows and is educated, which is his power. And we cannot allow sabotage to sap our production - saboteurs must be ruthlessly destroyed - we must be careful not to lose out on our three-year plan.

## 2. Amnesty.

It is not a proof of our weakness. Its intention is not a sentimental act but a political one and we are not expending our hand to criminals. We must remember and explain that we will observe them, go on exterminating them, and we will watch how much and what they will bring to the rebuilding of our country. The creation of friendly relations is absolutely forbidden. They must be watched and observed, we must know how to explain it to them if Mikolajczyk came to power the hangman's noose and a bullet would be ready for us. Collections and a wide action for the amnestied is a great mistake and should not be done with publicity. We don't wish to have to kill them.

3. Many of our comrades think that PSL is on the way out. In the Silesia Dabrowa province PSL can be eliminated fast. If on the other hand we approach this problem on a nationwide scale, it is still strong in the Lub in and Cracov province. We must remember that we are strong enough to have the means to eliminate them completely. Some PSL leaders are trying to extend their influence in certain parts of the country. Mikolajczyk is endeavoring to patch up his case and Wycech is criticizing Mikolajczyk's policy. Our task is to influence Wycech's group so as to break up the PSL from inside. In the Silesia Dabrowa province PSL has little influence in the country but is still strong in the cities. The peasantry in the East is tied up with PSL and our policy must consist in the isolation of healthy PSL elements. We must decidedly and categorically remove our enemies from key situations.
4. In the ranks of PPS (Polish Socialist Party) a split occurred between leftists PPS and WLN PPS (Freedom, Equality and Independence) who are turning toward Arciszewski.

Many of our comrades are wrong in their attitude towards PPS. Only a united front can be a fundamental base for a democratic Poland. You must fight ruthlessly the rightist PPS elements and you must understand and remember that the enemy must be beaten and not talked to.

5. PSL: Nowe Wyzwolenie (Left group of the Peasant Party). We can allow this to exist for a time. A part of these people with Rok have past to SL and Bertold is trying to arrive at an agreement with PPS Right. The peasant is the last to work, on the other hand he is a small producer - we must bring SL nearer to ourselves.

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6. The Political situation:  
In March and April it will be very difficult. Food from the outside will only arrive in May. A famine does not threaten us now and the purchasing action of cereals guarantees getting through this difficult period which reaction is trying to exploit for its own ends. In connection with this action food rations for free professions have been curtailed. We must put our administration on the same basis and it will be right if we eliminate the lazy. The reorganization should reach into all branches and all elements whose attitude is against us; it should not, however, touch the PPR. We must revise our tax system, reduce the taxes of workers and burden the peasantry with them who are more favorably inclined towards the PSL. In the country until then the peasantry should be politically worked on.
7. PPS-PPR.  
A united front must be created. Those who worked (from PPS) did so honestly. PPS is a less disciplined party. We must tighten this united front. For every two PPS one PPR should be detached for closer observation and they should drink together so as to allow them to talk things out and become friends. This would enable us to catch the saboteurs and reactioners now in the plants.
8. Recruitment for PPR:  
Up to date we can be pretty sure that our plan from the point of view of time will be executed. We now have 500,000 members and by the end of 47 we will have 1 million. On the 1st of January 1947 there were 120,000 members in Silesia alone. We don't want coercion because that way we have pushed many into PPS, because a healthy and sane man joins PPS. We only want the most valuable elements. Our party has given the best people for Poland's reconstruction. We must find a common platform with PPS, constantly keeping the united front in mind. It is probable that reaction will want to buy the right wing of PPS.
9. Elections for Workers Committees.  
PPS and PPR votes and also the non-party vote will have to be counted separately but candidates on the list will all be together.
10. Study.  
Each member of the party has the obligation to read much; to learn he must know Polish history, he must acquire the ideological basis, the party must rely on wise people. We have had to face great events; the referendum and the elections. We must stop talking, we must learn, we must work, we must read difficult things, and we must discuss, we must now work with our brains.
11. Party identity cards: Will be handed out from March 15, 1947 on, with five years validity. Secretaries must report on executed plans. These reports must tell (a) which PPR member has a PPS member for a friend; (b) TUR (socialist youth organization) will not be friendly to us. The task of this organization should be the formation of united front youth. Five PPRs must be detached to every hundred TURs with consideration for physical training; (c) (Polish text unclear - speaking of 5% to be given TUR before the 8th of March, 1947).
12. In connection with the expansion of our party membership attention should be given to those who might be useful as "teachers" who could be used for work in the field. Names will be reported by 8 March 1947. In all shops attention to education of the workers should be given first and foremost, the establishment of a library is a must, as is also the subscription to "trybuna Robotnicza" (The workers Tribune) which is compulsory. The professional section draws the attention to candidates for the post of "kommes de confiance", members of the workers committees.
13. The lack of props at the mines, motors covered with coal dust, sabotage, laziness - all is the fault of the managers and the foremen. These must be removed and disciplined. At each mine 200 workers are used for private tasks, 200 are on leave and in social work, 200 are sick, and 400 do not come to work. According to Government statistics 10,000 arrest warrants are out for leaving their posts without authorization or for theft etc. This must change. Because of this there will be in each shop a triumvirate of PPR's who will watch out for efficiency, output, and completeness of work done. In case of finding sabotage or deficiency in work, they will immediately notify the industrial sections of the UB (secret police). Decisions taken by the PPR cell are decisive for the personnel section. Each mine or foundry must get 4 such cells of 3 PPR's each. Once a month conferences of the technical organization will be held.

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